Western Carolinian.

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[BY BURTON CRAIGE.] SALISBURY, N. C....MONDAY, APRIL [illegible] 183[illegible] VOL. [illegible] NO. [illegible]

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SENATE OF U. STATES.

SPEECH OF MR. CALHOUN,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

On the Bill further to provide for the collection of duties on Imports.

[CONTINUED.]

In the same spirit we are told, that the Union must be preserved, without regard to the means. And how is it proposed to preserve the Union? By force!! Does any man, in his senses, believe that this beautiful structure—this harmonious aggregate of States, produced by the joint consent of all, can be preserved by force? Its very introduction will be certain destruction of this Federal Union. No; no. You cannot keep the States united in their constitutional and federal bonds by force. Force may, indeed, hold the parts together; but such union would be the bond between master and slave; a union of exaction on one side and of unqualified *obedience* on the other. That *obedience* which we are told by the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. WILKINS) is the Union! Yes, exaction on the side of the master; for this very bill is intended to collect what can be no longer called taxes—the voluntary contribution of a free people; but tribute, tribute to be collected under the mouths of the cannon! Your custom house is already transferred to a garrison, and that garrison, with its batteries turned, not against the enemy of your country, but on subjects, (I will not say citizens,) on whom you propose to levy contributions. Has reason fled from our borders? Have we ceased to reflect? It is madness to suppose that the Union can be preserved by force. I tell you, plainly, that the bill, should it pass, cannot be enforced. It will prove only a blot upon your statute book, a reproach to the year, and a disgrace to the American Senate. I repeat, that it will not be executed; it will rouse the dormant spirit of the people, and open their eyes to the approach of despotism. The country has sunk into avarice and political corruption from which nothing could arouse it, but some measure, on the part of the Government, of folly and madness, such as that now under consideration.

Disguise it as you may, the controversy is one between power and liberty, and he would tell the gentlemen who are opposed to him, that as strong as might be the love of power on their side, the love of liberty is still stronger on ours. History furnishes many instances of similar struggles, where the love of liberty has prevailed against power, under every disadvantage, and among them few more striking than that of our own revolution; where, as strong as was the parent country, and as feeble as were the colonies, yet, under the impulse of liberty and the blessing of God, they gloriously triumphed in the contest.—There were, indeed, many and striking analogies between that and the present controversy: they both originated substantially in the same cause, with this difference, that, in the present case, the power of taxation is converted into that of regulating industry—in that the power of regulating industry, by the regulating of commerce, was attempted to be converted into the power of taxation. Were he to trace the analogy further, we would find that the perversion of the taxing power, in one case, has, given precisely the same control to the northern section of the Union which the power to regulate commerce gave to Great Britain over the industry of the colonies; and that the very articles in which the colonies were permitted to have free trade, and those in which the mother country had a monopoly, are almost identically the same as those under which the Southern States are permitted to have a free trade by act of 1832, and which the northern States have, by the same act, secured a monopoly; the only difference is in the means: in the former, the colonies were permitted to have a free trade, with all countries south of Cape Finistere, a cape in the northern part of Spain; while north of that the trade of the colonies was prohibited, except through the mother country, by means of her commercial regulations. If we compare the products of the country north and south of cape Finistere, we will find them almost identical with the list of the protected and unprotected articles contained in the act of last year. Nor does the analogy terminate here. The very arguments resorted to at [illegible] obliterates every vestige of distinction between him and them; saving only that, professing the principles of '98, his example will be more pernicious than that of the most open and bitter opponents of the rights of the States. He would also add, what he was compelled to say, that he must consider him (Mr. RIVES) as less consistent than our old opponents, whose conclusions were fairly drawn from their premises, whilst his premises ought to have led him to opposite conclusions. The gentleman has told us that the new fangled doctrines, as he chose to call them, had brought State rights into disrepute. He must tell him, in reply, that what he called new fangled, are but the doctrines of '98; and that it is he, (Mr. RIVES,) and others with him, who, professing these doctrines, had degraded them by explaining away their meaning and efficacy. He (Mr. R.) had disclaimed, in behalf of Virginia, the authorship of nullification. Mr. C. would not dispute that point. If Virginia chose to throw away one of her brightest ornaments, she must not hereafter complain that it had become the property of another. But while as a Representative of Carolina he had no right to complain of the disavowal of the Senator from Virginia, he must believe that he (Mr. R.) had done his native State great injustice, by declaring on this floor, that when she gravely resolved, in '98, that "in cases of deliberate and dangerous infractions of the Constitution, the States, as parties to the compact, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose to arrest the progress of the evil, and to maintain, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them," meant no more than to ordain the right to protest and remonstrate. To suppose that, in putting forth so solemn a declaration, which she afterwards sustained by so able and elaborate an argument, she meant no more than to assert what no one had ever denied, would be to suppose that the State had been guilty of the most egregious trifling, that ever was exhibited on so solemn an occasion.

Mr. C. said that, in reviewing the ground over which he had passed, it would be apparent that the question in controversy involved that most deeply important of all political questions, whether ours was a federal or a consolidated Government. A question, on the decision of which depends as he solemnly believed, the liberty of the people, their happiness, and the place which we are destined to hold in the moral and intellectual scale of nations. Never was there a controversy in which more important consequences were involved; not excepting that between Persia and Greece, decided by the battles of Marathon, Platea, and Salamis; which gave ascendency to the genius of Europe over that of Asia; and which, in its consequences, has continued to effect the destiny of so large a portion of the world, even to this day.—There is, said Mr. C., often close analogies between events apparently very remote, which are strikingly illustrated in this case. In the great contest between Greece and Persia, between European and Asiatic polity and civilization, the very question between the federal and consolidated form of Government was involved. The Asiatic Governments, from the remotest time, with some exceptions on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, have been based on the principle of consolidation, which considers the whole community as but a unit, and consolidates its powers in a central point. The opposite principle has prevailed in Europe—Greece, throughout all her States, was based on a federal system.—All were united in one common, but loose bond, and the Governments of the several States partook, for the most part, of a complex organization, which distributed political power among different members of the community. The same principles prevailed in ancient Italy; and, if we turn to the Teutonic race, our great ancestors, the race which occupies the first place in power, civilization, and science, and which possesses the largest and the fairest part of Europe, we will find that their Governments were based on the federal organization as has been clearly illustrated by a recent and able writer on the British constitution, (Mr. Palgrave) from whose writings he introduced the following extract:

"In this manner the first establishment of the Teutonic States was affected.—They were assemblages of septs, clans, and tribes; they were confederated hosts and armies, led on by princes, [illegible] strangers to each other, and separate in jurisdiction, though all obedient to the supreme executive authority. This general description, though not always strictly applicable in terms, is always so substantially and in effect; and hence it becomes necessary to discard the language which has been very generally employed in treating on the English constitution. It has been supposed that the kingdom was reduced into a regular and gradual subordination of Government, and that the various legal districts of which it is composed, arose from the divisions and sub-divisions of the country. But this hypothesis, which tends greatly to perplex our history cannot be supported by fact; and instead of viewing the constitution as a whole, and then proceeding to its parts, we must examine it synthetically, and assume that the supreme authorities of the State were created by the concentration of the powers originally belonging to the members and corporations of which it is composed." [Here Mr. C. gave way for a motion to adjourn.]

On the next day, Mr. Calhoun proceeded by remarking that he had omitted, at their proper place, in the course of his observation yesterday, two or three points to which he would now advert, before he resumed the discussion where he had left off. He had stated that the ordinance and acts of South Carolina were directed, not against the revenue, but against the system of protection. But it might be asked, if such was her object, how happens it that she has declared the whole system void; revenue as well as protection, without discrimination? It is this question which he proposed to answer. Her justification would be found in the necessity of the case and if there be any blame, it could not attach to her. The two were so blended, throughout the whole, as to make the entire revenue system subordinate to the protection, so as to constitute a complete system of protection, in which it was impossible to discriminate the two elements of which it is composed. South Carolina at least could not make the discrimination, and she was reduced to the alternative of acquiescing in a system which she believed to be unconstitutional, and which she felt to be oppressive and ruinous, or to consider the whole as one, equally contaminated through all its parts, by the unconstitutionality of the protective portion; and, as such, to be resisted by the act of the state. He maintained that the State had a right to regard it in the latter character, and that if a loss of revenue followed, the fault was not hers, but of this government, which improperly blended together, in a manner not to be separated by the State, two systems wholly dissimilar. If the sincerity of the State be doubted; if it be supposed that her action is against revenue as well as protection, let the two be separated; let so much of the duties as are intended for revenue, be put in one bill, and the residue intended for protection be put in another, and he pledged himself that the ordinance and the acts of the State would cease as to the former, and be directed exclusively against the latter.

He had also stated, in the course of his remarks yesterday, and trusted he had conclusively shown that the act of 1816, with the exception of a single item, to which he had alluded, was, in reality, a revenue measure, and that Carolina, and the other States, in supporting it, had not incurred the slightest responsibility in relation to the system of protection, which had since grown up, and which now so deeply distracts the country. Sir, said Mr. C., I am willing, as one of the representatives of Carolina, and I believe, I speak the sentiment of the State, to take, that act of the basis of a permanent adjustment of the tariff, simply reducing the duties, in an average proportion, on all the items, to the revenue point. I make that offer now to the advocates of the protective system; but I must, in candor inform them, that such an adjustment would distribute the revenue between the protected and unprotected articles more favorably to the State, and to the South, and less to the manufacturing interest, than an average uniform ad valorem, and accordingly, more so than that now proposed by Carolina, through her convention. After such an offer, no man who valued his candor, will dare accuse the State, or those who have represented her here, with inconsistency in reference to the point under consideration.

He omitted also, on yesterday, to no[illegible] the remark of the Senator from Virginia [illegible] grew out of the ordinance and the acts of South Carolina. [illegible] the Senator will take pains to inform himself, he will find that this protective system advanced with a continued and rapid step, in spite of petitions, remonstrances, and protests, of not only Carolina but also of Virginia, and of all the Southern States, until 1828; when Carolina, for the first time, changed the character of her resistance, by holding up her reserved rights as the shield of her defence against further encroachment. This attitude alone, unaided by a single state, arrested the further progress of the system, so that the question from that period to this, on the part of the manufacturers, has been, not how to acquire more, but to retain that which they have acquired. He would inform the gentleman that if this attitude had not been taken on the part of the State, the question would not now be, how duties ought to be repealed, but a question as to the protected articles, between prohibition on one side and the duties established by the act of 1828, on the other. But a single remark will be sufficient in reply to what he must consider the invidious remark of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. RIVES.) The act of 1832, which has not yet gone into operation and which was passed but a few months since, was declared by the supporters of the system to be a permanent adjustment, & the bill proposed by the Treasury Department, not essentially different from the act itself, was in like manner declared to be intended, by the administration as a permanent arrangement. What has occurred since, except this ordinance, and these abused acts of the calumniated State, to produce this mighty revolution in reference to this odious system? Unless the Senator from Virginia can assign some other cause, he is bound, upon every principle of fairness, to retract this unjust aspersion upon the acts of South Carolina.

After noticing (said Mr. C.) another omission, he would proceed with his remarks. The Senator from Delaware, (Mr. CLAYTON,) as well as others, had relied with great emphasis on the fact that we are citizens of the United States. I (said Mr. C.) do not object to the expression, nor shall I detract from the proud and elevated feelings with which it is associated; but he trusted that he might be permitted to raise the inquiry, in what manner are we citizens of the United States? without weakening the patriotic feeling with which he trusted it would ever be uttered. If by citizen of the United States, he meant a citizen at large, one whose citizenship extended to the entire geographical limits of the country, without having a local citizenship in some State or Territory, a sort of citizen of the world, all he had to say was, that such a citizen would be a perfect non-descript; that not a single individual of this description could be found in the entire mass of our population. Notwithstanding all the pomp and display of eloquence on the occasion, every citizen is a citizen of some State or Territory, and as such, under an express provision of the Constitution, is entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and it is in this, and in no other sense, that we are citizens of the United States. The Senator from Pennsylvania, (Mr. DALLAS,) indeed, relies upon that provision in the Constitution which gives Congress the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and the operation of the rule actually established under this authority, to prove that naturalized citizens are citizens at large, without being citizens of any of the States. He did not deem it necessary to examine the law of Congress upon this subject, or to reply to the argument of the Senator, though he could not doubt that he (Mr. D.) had taken an entirely erroneous view of the subject. It was sufficient that the power of Congress extended simply to the establishment of an uniform rule, by which foreigners might be naturalized in the several States or Territories, without infringing, in any other respect, in reference to naturalization, the rights of the States, as they existed before the adoption of the Constitution.

Having supplied the omissions of yesterday, Mr. C. now resumed the subject at the point where his remarks then terminated. The Senate would remember, that he stated at their close, that the great question at issue was, whether ours is a federal or a consolidated system of Government; a system, in which the parts, to use the emphatic language of M. Palgrave, are the integers, and the whole the multiple—or in which the while is a unit and the parts the fractions; that he had stated, that on the decision of this question, he believed, depends not only the liberty and prosperity of this country, but the place which we are destined to hold in the intellectual and moral scale of nations. He had stated, also, in his remarks on this point, that there was a striking analogy between this and the great struggle between Persia and Greece, which had been decided by the battles of Marathon, Platea, and Salamis, and which had immortalized the names of Miltiades and Themistocles. He had illustrated this analogy by showing that [illegible] with the exception of a few [illegible] the eastern [illegible] the federal system, or, what is the same in principle, that system which considers a community in reference to its parts, had prevailed in Europe.

Among the few exceptions in the Asiatic nations, the Government of the twelve tribes of Israel, in its early period, was the most striking. Their Government, at first, was a mere confederation, without any central power, till a military chieftain, with the title of King, was placed at its head, without merging the original organization of the twelve distinct tribes. This was the commencement of that central action among that peculiar people, which, in three generations, terminated in a permanent division of their tribes. It is impossible even for a careless reader to peruse the history of that event without being forcibly struck with the analogy in the causes which led to their separation, and those which now threaten us with a similar calamity. With the establishment of the central power in the King, commenced a system of taxation, which, under King Solomon, was greatly increased to defray the expense of rearing the temple, of enlarging and embellishing Jerusalem, the seat of the central Government, and the other profuse expenditures of his magnificent reign. Increased taxation was followed by its natural consequences—discontent and complaint; which before his death began to excite resistance. On the succession of his son, Rehoboam, the ten tribes, headed by Jeroboam, demanded a reduction of the taxes; the temple being finished, and the embellishment of Jerusalem completed, and the money which had been raised for that purpose being no longer required; or, in other words, the debt being paid, they demanded a reduction of the duties—a repeal of the tariff. The demand was taken under consideration, and after consulting the old men, the counsellors of '98 who advised a reduction, he then took the opinion of the younger politicians, who had since grown up, and knew not the doctrines of their fathers; he hearkened unto their counsel, and refused to make the reduction, and the secession of the ten tribes, under Jeroboam, followed. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which had received the disbursements, alone remained to the house of David.

But, to return to the point immediately under consideration. He knew that it was not only the opinion of a large majority of our country, but it might be said to be the opinion of the age, that the very beau ideal of a perfect Government was the government of a majority, acting through a representative body, without check or limitation in its power; yet, if we may test this theory by experience and reason, we will find, that so far from being perfect, the necessary tendency of all Governments based upon the will of an absolute majority, without constitutional check or limitation of power, is to faction, corruption, anarchy, and despotism; and this, whether the will of the majority be expressed directly through an assembly of the people themselves, or by their representatives. I know, (said Mr. C.,) that in venturing this assertion I utter that which is unpopular, both within and without these walls; but, where truth and liberty are concerned, such considerations should not be regarded. He would place the decision of this point on the fact, that no government of the kind, among the many attempts which had been made, had ever endured for a single generation; but, on the contrary, had invariably experienced the fate which he had assigned to them. Let a single instance be pointed out, and he would surrender his opinion. But, if we had not the aid of experience to direct our judgment, reason itself would be a certain guide. The view which considers the community as a unit, and all its parts as having a similar interest, is radically erroneous. However small the community may be, and however homogenious its interests, the moment that government is put into operation, as soon as it begins to collect taxes and to make appropriations, the different portions of community must, of necessity, bear different and opposing relations in reference to the action of the government. There must inevitably spring up two interests; a direction and a stockholder interest; an interest profiting by the action of the government, and interested in increasing its powers and action; and another, at whose expense the political machine is kept in motion. He knew how difficult it was to communicate distinct ideas on such a subject, through the medium of general propositions, without particular illustration; and, in order that he might be distinctly understood, though at the hazard of being tedious, he would illustrate the important principle which he had ventured to advance, by examples.

Let us then suppose a small community of five persons, separated from the rest of the world; and, to make the example [illegible] engaged in the same pursuits, and to be of equal wealth. [illegible] that they determine to govern the community by the will of a majority; [illegible] the expenses of [illegible] equal tax, say of [illegible] of this little community [illegible] would contain five [illegible] Three are a majority [illegible] position, have [illegible] on their persons [illegible] annually two hundred [illegible] the right to raise the [illegible] they may think proper [illegible] how would the principle of the unchecked majority operate, under these circumstances, in their daily [illegible] If the three be governed by [illegible] justice—if they should appropriate the money to the objects for which it was raised, the common and equal benefit of the five, then the object of the association would be fairly and honestly effected, and each would have a common interest in the government. But, should the majority pursue an opposite course; should they appropriate the money in a manner to benefit their own particular interest, without regard to the interest of the two, (and they will so act, unless there be some efficient check he who best knows human nature will least doubt,) who does not see that the three and the two would have directly opposite interests, in reference to the action of the government? The three, who contribute to the common treasury but three hundred dollars, could, in fact, by appropriating the five hundred to their own use, convert the action of the government into the means of making money, and, of consequence, would have a direct interest in increasing the taxes. They put in three hundred and take out five; that is, they take back to themselves all that they had put in; and, in addition, that which was put in by their associates; or, in other words, taking taxation and appropriation together, they have gained, and their associates have lost, two hundred dollars by the fiscal action of the government. And opposite interests, in reference to the action of the government, is thus created between them; the one having an interest in favor and the other against the taxes; the one to increase and the other to decrease the taxes: the one to retain the taxes when the money is no longer wanted, and the other to repeal them when the objects for which they were levied have been executed.

Let us now suppose this community of five to be raised to twenty four individuals, to be governed in like manner by the will of a majority; it is obvious that the same principle would divide them into two interests—into a majority and a minority, thirteen against eleven, or in some other proportion; and that all the consequences which he had shown to be applicable to the small community of five, would be equally applicable to the greater—the cause not depending upon the number, but resulting necessarily from the action of the government itself. Let us now suppose that, instead of governing themselves directly in an assembly of the whole, without the intervention of agents, they should adopt the representative principle, and that, instead of being governed by a majority of themselves, they should be governed by a majority of their representatives. It is obvious that the operation of the system would not be effected by the change, the representatives being responsible to those who choose them, will conform to the will of their constituents, and would act as they would do, were they present, and acting for themselves; and the same conflict of interest, which we have shown would exist in one case, would equally exist in the other. In either case, the inevitable result would be a system of hostile legislation on the part of the majority, or the stronger interest, against the minority, or the weaker interest; the object of which, on the part of the former, would be to exact as much as possible from the latter, which would necessarily be resisted by all the means in their power. Warfare, by legislation, would thus be commenced between the parties, with the same object, and not less hostile than that which is carried on between distinct and rival nations—the only distinction would be in the instruments and the mode. Enactments, in the one case, would supply what could only be effected by arms in the other; and the inevitable operation would be to engender the most hostile feeling between the parties, which would merge every feeling of patriotism—that feeling which embraces the whole, and substitute in its place the most violent party attachment; and, instead of having one common center of attachment, around which the affections of the community might rally, there would, in fact, be two—the interests of the majority, to which those who constitute that majority would be more attached than they would be to the whole, and that of the minority, to which they in like manner would also be more attached than to the interests of the whole. Faction would thus take the place of patriotism, and, with the loss of patriotism, corruption must necessarily follow, and, in its train, anarchy, and, finally, despotism, or the establish-

ment of absolute power in a single individual, as a means of arresting the conflict of hostile interests; on the principle that it is better to submit to the will of a single individual, who by being made lord and master of the whole community, would have an equal interest in the protection of all the parts. Let us next suppose that, in order to avert the calamitous train of consequences, this little community should adopt a written constitution, with limitations restricting the will of the majority, in order to protect the minority against the oppression which he had shown would necessarily result without such restrictions. It is obvious that the case would not be in the slightest degree varied, if the majority be left in possession of the right of judging exclusively of the extent of its powers, without any right on the part of the minority, to enforce the restrictions imposed by the Constitution on the will of the majority. The point is almost too clear for illustration. Nothing can be more certain than that when a Constitution grants power, [illegible] limitations on the exercise of that power, whatever interests may obtain possession of the Government, will be in favor of extending the power at the expense of its limitation; and that, unless those in whose behalf the limitations were imposed have, in some form or mode, the right of enforcing them, the power will ultimately overcome the limitation, and the Government must operate precisely in the same manner as if the will of the majority governed without Constitution or limitation of power.

He had thus presented all possible modes, in which a Government bound upon the will of an absolute majority, would be modified, and had demonstrated that, in all its forms, whether in a majority of the people, as in a mere democracy, or in a majority of their representatives, without a Constitution, or with a Constitution, to be interpreted as the will of the majority, the result would be the same; two hostile interests would inevitably be created by the action of the Government, to be followed by hostile legislation, and that by faction, corruption, anarchy, and despotism.

The great and solemn question here presented itself—Is there any remedy for these evils, on the decision of which depends the question, whether the people can govern themselves, which has been so often asked with so much scepticism and doubt? There is a remedy, and but one, the effects of which, whatever may be the form, is to organise society in reference to this conflict of interests, which springs out of the action of Government; and which can only be done by giving to each part the right of self-protection, which, in a word, instead of considering the community of twenty-four as a single community, having a common interest, and to be governed by the single will of an entire majority, shall, upon all questions tending to bring the parts into conflict, the thirteen against the eleven, take the will, not of the twenty-four as a unit, but that of the thirteen and that of the eleven separately, the majority of each governing the parts, and where they concur, governing the whole, and where they disagree, arresting the action of the Government. This, he would call the concurring, as distinct from the absolute majority. It would not be, as was generally supposed, a minority governing a majority. In either way, the number would be the same, whether taken as the absolute, or as the concurring majority.—Thus, the majority of the thirteen is seven, and of the eleven six, and the two together make thirteen, which is the majority of twenty-four. But though the number is the same, the mode of counting is essentially different; the one representing the strongest interests, and the other, the weaker interests of the community. The first mistake was, in supposing that the government of the absolute majority is the government of this people—that beau ideal of a perfect government, which had been so enthusiastically entertained in every age by the generous and patriotic, where civilization and liberty had made the smallest progress. There could be no greater error; the government of the people is the government of the whole community—of the twenty four—the self-government of all the parts—too perfect to be reduced to practice in the present, or any past stage of human society. The government of the absolute majority, instead of the government of the people, is but the government of the strongest interests, and, when not efficiently checked, is the most tyrannical and oppressive that can be devised. Between this ideal perfection on one side, and despotism on the other; none other can be devised but that which considers society, in reference to its parts, as differently affected by the action of the government, and which takes the sense of each part separately, and thereby the sense of the whole in the manner already illustrated.

These principles, as he had already stated, are not affected by the number of which the community may be composed, and are just as applicable to one of thirteen millions, the number which composes ours, as of the small community of twenty-four which I have supposed for the purpose of illustration; and are not less applicable to the twenty-four States united in one community, than to the case of the twenty-four individuals. There is, indeed a distinction between a large and a small community, not affecting the principle, but the violence of the action. In the former, the similarity of the interests of all the parts, will limit the oppression from the hostile action of the parts, in a great degree, to the fiscal action of the government merely; but in the large community spreading over a country of great extent, and having a great diversity of interests, with different kinds of labor, capital, and production, the conflict and oppression will extend, not only to a monopoly of the appropriations, on the part of the stronger interests, but will end in unequal taxes, and a general conflict between the entire interests of contending sections, which, if not arrested by the most powerful exertion, will terminate in the most oppressive tyranny that can be conceived, or in the destruction of the community itself.

If we turn our attention from these supposed cases, and direct it to our Government, and its actual operation, we will find a practical confirmation of the truth of what has been stated, not only of the oppressive operation of the system of an absolute majority, but also a striking and beautiful illustration, in the formation of our system, of the principle of the concurring majority, as distinct from the absolute, which he had asserted to be the only means of efficiently checking the abuse of power, and, of course, the only solid foundation of constitutional liberty. That our Government, for many years, has been gradually verging to consolidation, that the Constitution has gradually become a dead letter, and that all restrictions upon the power of Government have been virtually removed, so as practically, to convert the General Government into a Government of an absolute majority, without check or limitation, cannot be denied by any one who has impartially observed its operation.

It is not necessary to trace the commencement and gradual progress of the causes which have produced this change in our system; it is sufficient to state that the change has taken place within the last few years. What has been the result? Precisely that which might have been anticipated; the growth of faction, corruption, anarchy, and, if not despotism itself, its near approach, as witnessed in the provisions of this bill. And from what have these consequences sprung? We have been involved in no war! We have been at peace with all the world. We have been visited with no national calamity. Our people have been advancing in general intelligence, and, I will add, as great and alarming as has been the advance of political corruption, the morals and virtue of the community at large, have been advancing in improvement. What, he would again repeat, is the cause? No other can be assigned but a departure from the fundamental principles of the Constitution, which has converted the Government into the will of an absolute and irresponsible majority, and which, by the laws which must inevitably govern, in all such majorities, have placed in conflict the great interests of the country, by a system of hostile legislation; by an oppressive and unequal imposition of taxes; by unequal and profuse appropriations, and by rendering the entire labor and capital of the weaker interest subordinate to the stronger.

This is the cause and these the fruits, which have converted the Government into a mere instrument of taking money from one portion of the community to be given to another, and which has rallied around it a great, a powerful, and mercenary corps of office holders, office seekers, and expectants, destitute of principle and patriotism, and who have no standard of morals or politics, but the will of the Executive—the will of him who has the distribution of the loaves and the fishes. He held it impossible for any one to look at the theoretical illustration of the principle of the absolute majority in the cases which he had supposed, and not be struck with the practical illustration in the actual operation of our Government. Under every circumstance, the majority will ever have its American system—(he meant nothing offensive to any Senator)—but the real meaning of the American system is, that system of plunder which the strongest interest has ever waged, and will ever wage, against the weaker, where the latter is not armed with some efficient and constitutional check to arrest its action. Nothing but such check on the part of the weaker interest can arrest it; mere constitutional limitations are wholly insufficient. Whatever interest obtains possession of the Government will, from the nature of things, be in favor of the powers and against the limitations imposed by the constitution, and will resort to every device that can be imagined to remove those restraints. On the contrary, the opposite interest; that which he had designated as the stockholding interest; the tax payers; those on whom the system operates, will resist the abuse of powers, and contend for the limitations. And it is on that point then, that the contest between the delegated and the reserved powers will be waged; but, in this contest, as the interests in possession of the Government are organized and armed by all its powers and patronage, the opposite interest, if not in like manner organized and possessed of a power to protect themselves under the provisions of the Constitution, will be as inevitably crushed as would be a band of unorganized militia, when opposed by a veteran and trained corps of regulars. Let it never be forgotten, that power can only be opposed by power, organization by organization; and on this theory stands our beautiful federal system of government. No free system was ever farther removed from the principle that the absolute majority, without check or limitation, ought to govern. To understand what our government is, we must look to the constitution, which is the basis of the system. He did not intend to enter into any minute examination of the origin and the source of its powers; it was sufficient for his purpose to state, which he did fearlessly, that it derived its power from the people of the separate States, each ratifying by itself, each binding itself by its own separate majority, through its separate convention, and the concurrence of the majorities of the several States forming the constitution; thus taking the sense of the whole by that of the several parts, representing the various interests of the entire community. It was this concurring and perfect majority which formed the constitution, & not that majority which would consider the American people as a single community, and which, instead of representing fairly and duly the influence of the whole, would but represent, as had been stated, the interest of the stronger section. No candid man can dispute that he had given a correct description of the constituting making power, that power which created and organized the Government; which delegated, as a common agent certain powers, in trust for the common good of all the States, and which had imposed strict limitation and checks against abuses and usurpations. In administering the delegated powers, the constitution provides very properly, in order to give promptitude and efficiency, that the government should be organized upon the principle of the absolute majority, or rather of two absolute majorities combined; a majority of the States considered as bodies politic, which prevails in this body; and a majority of the people of the States, estimated in federal numbers, in the other house of Congress. A combination of the two prevails in the choice of the President, and, of course, in the appointment of judges, they being nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It is thus that the concurring and the absolute majorities are combined in one complex system; the one in forming the constitution and the other in making and executing the laws; thus beautifully blending the moderation, justice, and equity of the former and more perfect majority, with the promptness and energy of the latter, but less perfect.

To maintain the ascendency of the Constitution over the law making majority, is the great and essential point on which the success of the system must depend; unless that ascendency can be preserved the necessary consequence must be, that the laws will supersede the Constitution, and, finally, the will of the Executive, by the influence of its patronage, will supersede the laws, indications of which, are already perceptible.—This ascendency can only be preserved through the action of the States, as organised bodies, having their own separate Governments, and possessed of the right under the structure of our system, of judging of the extent of their separate powers, and of interposing their authority to arrest the enactments of the general Government within their respective limits. He would not enter, at this time, into the discussion of this important point; as it had been ably and fully presented by the Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Bibb.) and others who had preceded him in this debate, on the same side; whose arguments not only remained unanswered, but were unanswerable. It was only by this power of interposition that the reserved rights of the States could be peacefully and efficiently protected against the encroachments of the general Government, that the limitations imposed upon its authority would be enforced, and its movement confined to the orbit allotted to it by the Constitution.

It had, indeed, been said in debate, that this could be affected by the organization of the General Government itself particularly by the action of this body, which represented the states, and that the states themselves must look to the General Government for the preservation of many of the most important of their reserved rights. He did not (said Mr. C.,) underrate the value to be attached to the organic arrangement of the General government, and the wise distribution of its powers between the several departments, and in particular the structure and the important functions of this body! but to suppose that the Senate or any department of this Government was intended to be the guardian of the reserved rights, was a great and fundamental mistake. The government through all its departments, represents the delegated, and not the reserved powers; and it was a violation of the fundamental principle of free institutions to suppose, that any but the responsible representative of any interest, could be its guardian. The distribution of the powers of the General Government and its organization, in fulfilling the important trusts confided to it; and not, as preposterously supposed, to protect the reserved powers, which are confided wholly to the guardianship of the several States.

Against the view of our system which he had presented, and the right of the State to interpose, it was objected that it would lead to anarchy and dissolution. He considered the objection as without the slightest foundation, and that so far from tending to weakness or disunion, it was the source of the highest power and of the strongest cement. Nor was its tendency in this respect difficult of explanation. The Government of an absolute majority, unchecked by efficient constitutional restraint, though apparently strong, was in reality an exceedingly feeble Government. That tendency to conflict between the parts, which he had shown to be inevitable in such governments, wasted the power of the State in the hostile action of contending factions, which left very little more power than the excess of the strength of the majority over the minority. But a government based upon the principle of the concurring majority, where each great interest possessed within itself the means of self protection, which ultimately requires the mutual consent of all the parts, necessarily causes that unanimity in council, and ardent attachment of all the parts to the whole, which gives an irresistible energy to a government so constituted. He might appeal to history for the truth of these remarks, of which the Roman furnishes the most familiar and striking. It is a well known fact, that from the expulsion of the Tarquins to the time of the establishment of the Tributarian power, the Government fell into a state of the greatest disorder and distraction, and he might add, corruption. How did this happen? The explanation will throw important light on the subject under consideration. The community was divided into two parts—the Patricians and the Plebeians; with the powers of the State principally in the hands of the former, without adequate [illegible] ney, to inflict chastisement and their dependants. They in a word, had the American system, growing out of the peculiar character of the Government and condition of the country. This required explanation. At that period, according to the laws of nations, when one nation conquered another, the lands of the vanquished belonged to the victors; and according to the Roman law, the lands thus acquired were divided into parts, and allotted to the poorer class of the people, and the other assigned to the use of the Treasury, of which the patricians had the distribution and administration. The patricians abused their power by withholding from the people that which ought to have been allotted to them, and, by converting to their own use that which ought to have gone to the Treasury. In a word, they took to themselves the entire spoils of victory, and they had thus the most powerful motive to keep the State perpetually involved in war to the utter impoverishment and oppression of the people. After resisting the abuse of power by all peaceable means, and the oppression becoming intolerable, the people, at last, withdrew from the city—they, in a word, seceded; and, to induce them to reunite, the patricians conceded to the plebians, as the means of protecting their separate interest, the very power which he contended is necessary to protect the rights of the States; but which is now represented as necessarily leading to disunion. They granted to the people the right of choosing three tribunes from among themselves, whose persons should be sacred, and who should have the right of interposing their veto, not only against the passage of laws, but even against their execution—a power which nature, would pronounce inconsistent with the strength and unity of the State, if not utterly impracticable. Yet so far from that being the effect, from that day, the genius of Rome became ascendant; and victory followed her steps till she had established an almost universal dominion. How can a result so contrary to all anticipation, be explained? The explanation appeared to him to be simple. No measure or movement could be adopted without the concurring assent of both the patricians and plebeians, and each thus became dependant on the other, and of consequence, the desire and objects of neither could be effected without the concurrence of the other. To obtain this concurrence, each was compelled to consult the good will of the other, and to elevate to office, not simply those who might have the confidence of the order to which he belonged, but also that of the other. The result was, that men possessing those qualities which would naturally command confidence, moderation, wisdom, justice, and patriotism, were elevated to office; and these, by the weight of their authority, and the produce of their counsel, together with the spirit of unanimity, necessarily resulting from the concurring assent of the two orders, furnishes the real explanation of the power of the Roman State, and of that extraordinary wisdom, moderation, and firmness, which in so remarkable a degree characterised her public men. He might illustrate the truth of the position which he had laid down, by a reference to the history of all free States, ancient and modern, distinguished for their power and patriotism, and conclusively show, not only that there was not one which had not some contrivance, under some form, by which the concurring assent of the different portions of the community was made necessary, in the action of Government, but also that the virtue, patriotism, and strength of the State, were in direct proportion to the perfection of the means of securing such assent. In estimating the operation of this principle in our system, which depends, as he had stated, on the right of interposition on the part of the State, we must not omit to take into consideration the amending power, by which new powers may be granted; or any derangement of the system be corrected, by the concurring assent of three fourths of the States, and thus, in the same degree, strengthening the power of repairing any derangement occasioned by the executive action of a State. In fact, the power of interposition, fairly understood, may be considered in the light of an appeal against the usurpations of the General Government, the joint agent of all the States, to the States themselves, to be decided under the amending power, affirmatively in favor of the Government, by the voice of three fourths of the States, as the highest power known under the system.

Mr. C. said that he knew the difficulty, in our country, of establishing the truth of the principle for which he contended, though resting upon the clearest reason, and tested by the universal experience of free nations. He knew that the Governments of the several States would be cited as an argument against the conclusion to which he had arrived, and which for the most part, were constructed on the principle of the absolute majority; but in his opinion a satisfactory answer could be given; that the objects of expenditure which fell within the sphere of a state Government, were few and inconsiderable, so that be their action ever so irregular, it could occasion but little derangement. If instead of being members of this great confederacy, they formed distinct communities, and were compelled to raise armies, and incur other expenses necessary to their defence, the laws which he had laid down as necessarily controlling the action of a State where the will of an absolute and unchecked majority prevailed, would speedily disclose themselves in faction, anarchy, and corruption. Even as the case is, the operation of the causes to which he had referred, were perceptible in some of the larger and more populous members of the Union, whose Governments

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FROM THE NEW-YORK COURIER & ENQUIRER

Washington Correspondence.

Washington, D. C. March 27, 1833.

Sir,—In my letter of the 18th I alluded to the efforts which were making to encourage and sustain the President in his warfare against the Bank of the United States. Those efforts are continued. I am watching the movements of the conspirators. They are known to me. A combination, in this quarter, was formed some time since, for the purpose of stock-gambling.—The business is likely to prove unprofitable. I am in possession of the names of most, if not all the co-partners here.—Circumstances, sooner or later, may render it necessary for me to transmit them for publication. Whether your Wall street gentlemen are, or are not interested in these speculations, I am not prepared to state; but that the *knowing ones* here may be certain that I have a *clue* to them, I will remark, that to the honor of one concerned, on your stock exchange, they declined an agency in these stock transactions which have since excited such universal condemnation. It was done, I presume, courteously, but evidently because it was considered disreputable. This brief statement of facts will explain to you the reason why you hear so much about the removal of the public deposits. The object is to reduce the price of stocks. If these deposits should be removed, *by order of the President*, for it will not be done in any other way, the cause of such removal must be reported to Congress at their next session. What will they do? They will refer the subject to a Committee with power to send for persons and papers, and to examine the witnesses under oath. This examination, you may rest assured, will elicit such information, and expose such a scene of management, as will astound the most sceptical. The result, I have no doubt, would not only be honourable, but advantageous to the bank.

Mr. *Vaughn*, the British Minister, is expected shortly. The house of Mr. Livingston, Secretary of State, has been taken for him, and the furniture purchased. Mr. Livingston will, sail for France during the summer.

On Mr. Livingston's retiring from the State Department how is the vacancy in the cabinet to be filled? Mr. Van Buren wishes Mr. Rives to come into the treasury; but that gentleman looks to the State Department; and Mr. Woodbury has his eye upon the Treasury, as successor to Mr. McLane, who it is supposed will be promoted. But what is to become of Mr. Forsyth in all these arrangements? Is he to be burnt in effigy, throughout his own State, for his devotion to the Vice President and then to receive no remuneration? Mr. Barry has a desire to take the place of Mr. Van Ness in Spain. Such are the *longings* of the great.

It is believed that General Jackson has promised the Hon Isaac Hill, that he will visit him during the month of June or July.

Gen. Jackson is in the habit of lecturing, and sometimes not in the most moderate terms, all who hesitate about supporting his measures. During the session, the members of Congress did not escape the severity of his animadversions, and especially that portion of them who were designated administration men. A few days since, Mr. *Plummer*, the member from Mississippi, was called to an account, by the President, for voting against the enforcing bill. After some conversation, and pausing a few minutes, Mr. Plummer replied, in substance, that he was willing to support the administration, but not in company with those who voted for that bill. Such are, almost universally, the feelings of the people, in the south and southwestern parts of our country.

The Spy in Washington.

Washington, D. C. April 3. 1833.

Sir,—The conflagration of the Treasury office is the principle topic of conversation here. Judge *Cranch* has been for several days engaged in examining of witnesses. The stock-jobbers have put into circulation a report, that the fire was probably produced by the friends of the U. S. Bank, with a view to prevent the transfer of the public deposits. In times like these nothing is too absurd to be credited by the creatures of power, if to believe, will subserve their purposes. There, is undoubtedly, a mystery as to the manner in which the burning originated. By some, it is supposed, that it proceeded from a fire made in the room of the chief clerk, about 7 o'clock, in the evening, and that it communicated from the hearth to the floor. By others, it is said, that one of the rafters jutted through the bricks, which they supposed must have caught fire. In whatever manner it may have originated, the loss in papers and records is very great, and it is to be apprehended will prove the source of much injury to individuals, as well as to the Government.

You well know the abhorrence with which at all times, I witness the employment of the "standing army." The late misfortune has afforded a pretext for the introduction of them, like a "body guard," into the public offices. The eye of the citizen is now offended by the consequential strut, before these buildings, of the soldier, armed with his musket and bayonet. So energetic was Gen. *Jackson* that he ordered the troops from Fort Washington to march all night, if necessary, to reach here on Monday morning. Is this to familiarize us to the pomp and pageantry of military parade? If not, what is the object? The exhibition is as ridiculous as it is useless, unless there is something more intended than meets the eye.

At every corner, and in every bar room, whispers and innuendos are heard, calculated to implicate individuals. To these rumours I am unwilling to give currency.—The investigation, now in progress, will, I hope, remove all unwarrantable suspicion, and demonstrate that the conflagration was purely accidental.

The principle loss of papers are those which are immediately under the care of the Secretary of the Treasury. His business, will, therefore, be greatly deranged. Will Mr. *McLane*, under such circumstances, leave the Treasury Department?—Will it be deemed expedient or proper to transfer him to the office about to be vacated by *Mr. Livingston*? This depends upon things yet to happen. But the enquiry is not without meaning. You may remember, that in my letter of the 16th December last, when this city was filled with rumours as to foreign appointments and changes in the cabinet, I remarked "sound *policy* forbids the state of hope "and fear should be disturbed. It will "not be. In all probability, no change "will be made until the close of the present session of Congress.' That prediction has been verified; and the difficulties to which I then referred, have been greatly increased since that period. What then is to be done? What, Mr. *Livingston*, instead of sailing in May, must remain until July or August, unless Mr. *Rives* can

reconciled [illegible] against the wishes of those who recently appointed him. As matters now stand, he will, in a particular quarter, be proposed for the office of Secretary of State. I think, however, that he will be defeated, and that although Mr. McLane's appointment may be delayed, it will not be prevented.

The administration men in Tennessee, especially those in and about Nashville, are up in arms, at the attacks which have been made upon their commercial character and credit. Some of their leaders have determined on an investigation into the transactions of the Branch Bank at that place. That investigation will be made, and the result will be published. It will establish the fact, that the western merchants, as a body, are as honorable men and as solvent, as the merchants in the Atlantic cities; and consequently, that by discounting their paper, the Branch Bank at Nashville will sustain as small a per centage of loss, as any other Branch in the United States. The anticipated enquiry and publication is [illegible] wormwood and gall to the stock gamblers, whether in or out of the cabinet irresponsible.

The people in the South and southwestern States are looking into the principles of the measures adopted by the late Congress. The result of their elections will show a great diminution of Gen. Jackson's influence. There will, however, be a decided majority of *nominal* Jacksonmen returned to the next House of Representatives. That majority will consist of the shreds and patches of every faction, now in embryo, but which has not yet assumed form and shape and being. The developements of the winter will bring up, once more, the standard of reform; and then, mark what I now say, eight weeks after the commencement of the session,—out of *two hundred and forty* members, of which the House will be composed, on no question testing the strength of the "*whole hog party*," will they ever obtain more than *one hundred* votes.

You will have seen a notice of the inquisition now sitting on the Navy Commissioners. The chief inquisitor is *Amos Kendall*. The accuser, a distinguished member of the *Hickory Club*, who, it is said, would accept the appointment of Post Master of this city. *Doctor Jones*, the present incumbent, was, formerly, a great favorite; but he has fallen under the *ban* of the zealots of the club, and rumor says that Mr. *Kendall* is resolved on a re-organization. In the hope of appeasing the "*angry gods*," Mr. Jones was indefatigable, (during the contest for printer,) within the walls of Congress Hall, in electioneering for Mr. Blair. *I suspect*, however, that Dr. Jones begins to *suspect* that these services were not well calculated to increase the number of his friends, in a certain section of the administration party. I well knew, at the time, that the Post Master was "pulling against wind and tide," but I *suspected* that he "was rowing one way and looking another."

You have, I presume, noticed the uncandid and contemptible effort of Mr. Blair, to make an impression that my letters are not received by you from the city of Washington. I cannot descend to notice such folly. Do put the gentleman at ease, on this point, if you can.

THE SPY IN WASHINGTON.

From the Richmond Whig.

SNACKS.

People of America, watch your head man, he will soon be your master.

Clay's "stitch in time," has saved more than nine.

Political darkness covers the Old Dominion. The people starve for lack of knowledge.

Political dogs are scuffling over the crumbs of office, while the thieves are breaking in at the windows.

Never give up the reins of government to political Gilpins. It takes cautious drivers to guide the wheels of State.

Jackson is using federal midwives to bring forth republican children: the object of this Pharaoh is to strangle in the birth.

The higher the floods of federal wrath rise, the higher will the ark *of State-rights* ascend.

Jackson changes his documents but holds his doctrines: the snake may change his skin, but holds its poison.

Even when the tree of liberty is falling, the political hawks are feathering their nests.

The veil of the State Rights temple has been rent from top to bottom: the sun of freedom has been darkened, and ghosts of departed patriots have come forth.

Rives is a Jonas that must be thrown over board to save the sinking ship.

Felix is never so happy as when he is licking the hands of his master, or lying down at his feet. When he says, poor Felix! how he wags his tail, and grins, and jumps, and always ready to bark at Calhoun and Clay, at the pointing of the finger.

An ounce of honesty in the statesman is worth a pound of talents—what signifies a gun that shoots well, if it is not *aimed* well. We want the integrity of the State more than the wisdom of the State. Never a time when the demand for the *article* was *greater*, and yet never a time when the article was *scarcer*.

Van Buren is all wolf but the skin. Beware of *false* prophets that come to you in sheep's clothing.

Enforcing Bill.—This egg of the *cockatrice*, should have been crushed by the heel of Congress. But the heel of the people shall bruise the *serpent's* head.

Give me the statesman who holds nothing so fast as his *integrity*—when the storm blows the fiercest, then he stands the boldest.

The Speaker is going like a shadow that declineth. He shall decrease, but Tyler shall increase—he shall fade as a leaf, [illegible] failer.

Away with a political [illegible] who eats in the same dish with a friend, and yet betrays as an enemy—that [illegible] then stabs [illegible].

The Presidential [illegible] Jackson for the slaughter. Political glory is at the end of the race—he that holds out to the end faithfully, shall be saved triumphantly.

Calhoun is a bush on fire, but not consumed.

The Dagon of consolidation should fall again before the ark of *State Rights*.

AN OLD REPUBLICAN [illegible].

QUICK ON THE TRIGGER.

Martin Van Buren, John McLean, Richard M. Johnson and [illegible] are already nominated for the next Presidency. One of the Treasury Clerks [illegible] already stuck up the name of the first in the front of his vest. Will the [illegible] ambition of office hunters [illegible] to the People? Shall the great principles now in contest be [illegible] to partizan [illegible] by the [illegible] at Washington? [illegible] the time is past when the interests of the country claimed precedence of the interests of party leaders. The game is commenced—the very game which was played off upon the people twelve months ago. There are some half-dozen candidates to be brought out; and then we are to have another Baltimore caucus for the benefit of Mr. Van Buren—or rather to produce "*concert and harmony*," in the great *Republican Party*, headed by Sedition Law Federalists. The game is begun—let the people look to it—corruption has commenced its work, and it will go on to the end.

Virginia Jeffersonian.

The following are the provisions of the Land Bill, which passed Congress, but was unsanctioned by the President:

"It reserved for the new States twelve per cent. of the proceeds, in addition to the sum heretofore reserved for works of internal improvement, and for the purposes of education within the same; also, five hundred thousand acres to each of the new States, for the same object, and reserved the right of extending the same privileges to the territories on their respective admission into the Union. It also gave the right to actual settlers to enter not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres at fifty cents per acre.—The sum which would accrue from sales after these liberal provisions in favor of new states and territories, was to have been divided according to federal representation."

Awful Catastrophe.—The New-York Radicator of Saturday, contains an article from the Constitutional del Canea, stating that in the month of July last, while Mass was being celebrated in the Church of Sigchos, near Tacunda, in the Republic of Equador, South America, on the day of the solemn festival *del Corpus*, fire was communicated to the building by means of a rocket, and that in the rush of the audience to the door, it became shut, and the WHOLE CONGREGATION PERISHED IN THE FLAMES, *except the Curate who escaped through the window!!* The number of lives lost was estimated at more than FIVE HUNDRED, besides children. *Balt. Chron.*

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER, dated in New-Hampshire:

The democratic party here read the proclamation with surprise. They could not reconcile it with documents from the same source, which had preceded it. Our papers, those of them that profess democratic principles, are trammelled; they will not openly come out and denounce the proclamation although they disapprove of some of its doctrines. They have become, in a certain degree, "political trimmers;" all that is wanting in the north, is independent editors; the press would then speak out the sentiments of the democratic party; federal doctrines, oppressive laws, and unconstitutional acts would then be denounced, whether they were sanctioned by men who have ever professed democratic principles, and been supported on those principles, or not.

At present, the democratic papers of N. England do not speak the sentiments of the party they represent; it is too much the case that doctrines coming from a *certain quarter*, are to be applauded, whether federal or democratic. whether subverting the rights of the people, or upholding them. But the people of New England (the democratic portion of them) do not worship any man, or subscribe to doctrines advanced by him, which they regard as subversive of their rights; their motto is *Principles, not men.*

We make the following extract of a letter of a recent date, written at Rome, Italy.

"Bishop England is in high estimation here, though some weeks ago he got into a little difficulty, in consequence of something which he uttered in a sermon delivered by him at the request of the Americans then in Rome, upon the occasion of ceremonies being performed for Charles Carroll of Carrollton. A few of the sentiments were rather too American for the ears of an Englishman among his audience, by whom a distorted account of them were reported to the Holy office, as I think it is called, and an investigation took place, which, however, terminated in the Bishop's favor. *Phil. Nat. Gaz.*

The Legislature of Indiana, have chartered a College to be called Christian College, with powers to confer degrees on both males and females. In the Female department, as we learn from a Louisville paper, there are to be the degrees of Doctress of Natural Science, of English Literature of Belles Letters, of the Fine Arts, and of Arts and Sciences.

[illegible]

APRIL [illegible], 1833.

The Editor of the Carolinian is now and will be, absent for two or three weeks. He will attend the Superior Courts of Rutherford, Lincoln, Iredell and Mecklenburg, so that the people in those Counties who have business with his office, can have an opportunity of transacting it. The paper will be left in the hands of a gentleman every way qualified for its management.

Our readers will perceive in an adjacent column that the publication of the [illegible] has been commenced by [illegible] for the [illegible]

WILL THEY NEVER BE SATISFIED?

There seems to be a class of men in the United States who are never willing to see the country, and particularly the South in a state of tranquility. No sooner had peace and harmony been restored among the different sections of the Union, by a satisfactory adjustment of the vexed question of the Tariff, than attempts are making to inflame the public mind, by stirring the Slave question. There are fanatics in some of the Northern States, (and they have allies among us,) who are now using every effort to excite the public mind, and to create jealousies in the different sections of the Union, by publishing inflammatory pieces upon this subject. The people of the South ought to be on the alert. This is a question, which they alone, must decide. Its agitation at this time can be of no benefit to those, who are not interested in it. We hope the honest and reflecting part of the community at the North, will, therefore, frown down every attempt to create any excitement upon the subject.

VIRGINIA WILL BE HERSELF AGAIN.

Every mail brings us the most gratifying accounts from the land of Democracy. Virginia is fast tearing from the necks of her sons, the degrading collar of slavery. They slept and Thomas Richie & Co. fastened it around their necks; They are awakening to cast it off again. The last Richmond papers contain an account of the proceedings of the citizens of Charles City, at a dinner given to the Hon. John Tyler, the bold and fearless champion of the rights of the States.—They breathe a spirit of Patriotism worthy of Virginia's best days. The flame is kindled, and it cannot be stopped till the "Commonwealth" is *disenthralled* from its present slavish condition.

RAIL ROADS.

We are pleased to see the interest which the citizens of some of the lower counties take upon the subject of Railroads. We should be better pleased. however, to see their efforts directed to *one*, which could be called North Carolinas, than to the one from Petersburg to Weldon. The latter will doubtless be of incalculable benefit to the people of that particular section of the State, but it cannot be so to any large portion of our people.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C. APRIL 4, 1833.

Arrived, Steamer John Walker, Capt. Rothwell, from Wilmington with the Eliza Neill and new flat James Seawell in tow, and 13 cabin passengers, she was ladened with the following goods, viz:—670 boxes, bales and trunks; 99 hhds. and crates sundries; 312 bbls. sundries; 264 bags coffee, &c.; 491 packages nails, lead, &c.; 2 coaches complete; 1 pr. burrstones; 1 carding machine complete; 1 packing do; 265 bars iron; making 1.840 packages for sundry merchants in Fayetteville and the interior. For those residing in this section of the state, we observe the following, John Murphy, Saml. Hargrave, T. & J. Young, F. Young, Hargrave & Gaither, Thos. L. Cowan, M. Pinkston & Co. Cowan & Jenkins, G. W. Brown, R Clemmons, Stockdon & Huggins, Saml. Douthit, S. B. Douthit & Co. Slaughter & Reeves, Johnson & Hargrave, J. Clement & Co.

Markets.

Liverpool, March 4th.—"COTTON MARKET.—There was extensive demands in the Cotton market to-day, transactions estimated at 6.000 bal. s. American, 2,500 at 5⅝ a 8½ dy.

On the 7th sales were large, but without any advance in American sorts, though the feeling was better.

New York, April 6th.—"The demand since our last report, has been tolerably good for Cotton. The sales are about 2800 Bales.—1500 uplands. at 10 a 12 cents.

COFFEE.—Prices are rather lower, St. Domingo prime, 11½ cents, 6 months; ordinary at 11 cts., less 2 per cent for cash; Laguira at 12½ cents: prime 13½ cts.; Cuba, 11½ a 12 1 3 cents.

SUGAR.—The stock continues very small and the demand good. St. Croix 7 a 9 cts.; New Orleans 6 a 7½ cts.; Porto Rico 7½ a 9.

CHARLESTON, APRIL 13TH.—COTTON—Short staple inferior to good 9 3 8 a 10 1 4 cts.,—common prime 10 1-2 a 10 3 4; choice 11 a 11 3-8. Beeswax 17 cts.; Tallow—Carolina 11 a 11½; Sugar, Muscovodo 6½ a 8½; St. Croix and Jamacia 7 a 9½; New Orleans 6½ a 8 cts. Coffee—inferior to good fair 11 a 11 1-4; good to prime 11 a 12½; choice 13 a 13½.

COLUMBIA, APRIL 5.—COTTON is worth from 9½ a 10 1 2, a choice lot sold for 11½ cts. There is a great scarcity in flour. That of a good quality commands 6 a 6½

WILMINGTON, N. C APRIL 10.—FLOUR $5 a 6, Tallow 10. Beeswax 17 a 18, Salt. Turk island 42, Liverpool 50, do. in sacks 55, sound 40. Brown Sugar 7 a 9. Coffee 11 a 14, Molasses 26 a 30.

FAYETTEVILLE. N. C. APRIL 9.—COTTON 10 a 10 50.

CHERAW, S. C. APRIL 10.—Cotton 10 a 10 50.

[illegible] STATES had [illegible] the FEDERAL Government.—[illegible] on the powers of the Federal Government.

Question. When were the Governments of the several STATES established?

Answer. They were established at various periods, long before the revolutionary war, while these States were yet colonies,—each [illegible] allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, but in all other respects separate and distinct from each other; each possessing [illegible] within its OWN territorial limits, and having no other political connection with one another than a common dependence on the Mother country.

Question. This was before the Revolution, but how was it after the Declaration of Independence?

Answer. The Declaration of Independence [illegible] colonies, [illegible] was done by assent and cooperation of the [illegible] colonies, then and thereby becoming independent STATES,—independent of the British crown, and politically of each other. Hence it was that each STATE immediately after the declaration of independence set about modifying its government so as to suit the new order of things,—the most of them forming and establishing CONSTITUTIONS for themselves.

Question. If the STATES were thus independent of each other, how was it that they carried on the war in common?

Answer. They were all fighting for the same thing, namely Independence and Liberty, and therefore they AGREED to make common cause; and, in order that they might act together with greater concert, and unanimity, on the 9th of July 1778, "ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION," were entered into between them; the 2nd article reads in these words"—"Each state, retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." By these articles of confederation a "Congress of the United States" was created and certain powers given to this Congress;—in that Congress, each STATE, whether large or small, had precisely the same political weight. This Congress, sometimes called the old continental Congress raised the continental armies, conducted the war, and made the peace, all of which they did under the powers delegated to them by the articles of confederation. Nor should it be forgotten, that each and every one of the STATES also raised troops, and supported them during the whole period of the war,—and that many of the battles of the war of Liberty, were fought exclusively by the State-troops under the command of STATE officers. Thus you see that the STATES were separate, and independent of each other during the war, except so far as they had delegated certain powers to the continental Congress.

Question. Was it not about the close of the War, that the present Constitution of the United States was established, which instrument of course did away the old confederacy, and created *new relations* between the States?

Answer. During the Revolutionary War, while a common danger pressed upon all the States, it was found that the "articles of confederation" were sufficiently strong to keep them together, and for all the purposes of defence against the common enemy; but when peace came, it was soon ascertained that the old confederation would not answer, and that if the States wished to keep together, some *additional* powers should be given to the CONTINENTAL GOVERNMENT.

Accordingly the subject was taken under consideration by the *Legislatures* of the several *States*, and after a time each State agreed to appoint DELEGATES to meet in Convention for the purpose of making some change in the General Government; this Convention met in Philadelphia, in May 1787, and after the deliberation of several months, they formed the present constitution of the United States.

Question. Who were the constituents of the Convention,—the American people *as a whole*, or, the people of the several States, as separate and distinct communities?

Answer. Certainly not the American people *as a whole*, but the *States*, as separate political communities. The members or Delegates of the Convention were not chosen by the people, but by the STATES, and in convention all the votes were taken by *States*, each State giving ONE vote.

Question. Was this Constitution binding on the States or the people as soon as it was formed by the Convention, or was it required before it became binding to submit it to the States for their separate consideration and ratification or rejection?

Answer. The Convention having been composed of delegates or agents, appointed by the STATES to revise the articles of confederation and devise the form of a General Government; it was expressly provided that the work of their hands should be submitted to the States, or the people of the States, for their ratification, or rejection, and of course could not become binding on a single human being, until ratified and sanctioned.

The instrument called the constitution of the United States was accordingly submitted to each State, and each State in a convention of its own, took it up examined it and decided for itself;—I say, *for itself*, for one state ratifying the constitution did not make it binding on another. Nor, did the ratification of 12 States, make it binding on the remaining *thirteenth*:—For, example North Carolina refused to ratify the Constitution nearly two years after the other twelve had done so, and during that time she was not considered as belonging to the union, but stood alone as a separate and independent State. She afterwards held a second convention, and agreed to join the *Union*.

Question. Does it not follow from these historical facts, that the STATES are the PARTIES of the Federal Government, and that the Constitution is only the written *compact* between the States, by which they gave existence to this Federal Government?

Answer. Most certainly. The STATES are [illegible] articles of confederation.

Question. [illegible] the Federal Government?

Answer. It may fairly be considered [illegible] the STATES [illegible] United States is [illegible] words of the Constitution are:—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

[To be Continued.]

DIED.

On Wednesday morning last, 17th inst. at the residence of [illegible], Esq. in the County of [illegible], the Rev. THOMAS ESPY, a [illegible] of the Gospel in the Presbyterian Church. His remains were brought to this place, and interred on Thursday last in the German Lutheran burial ground.

In Lexington, Davidson County, N. C. on the 12th inst. *Alexander [illegible]*, Esq.

Also, on the 17th inst. Mrs. [illegible] the wife of Mr. Jacob [illegible] of said county.

NEW GOODS.

The subscriber is now receiving, and opening, his assortment of

SPRING & SUMMER

GOODS.

THEY were purchased in New York and Philadelphia, from the latest importations with great care, and entirely for CASH: they will be sold at a small profit, for cash, or to punctual dealers on the usual credit; his assortment will consist of

DRY-GOODS,

GROCERIES,

HARD-WARE,

CUTLERY,

and every other article generally kept in his line of business; which together with his stock previously on hand, will make his assortment complete.

His friends, and the public, generally, are respectfully invited to call, examine, and judge for themselves.

COTTON,	*BEES-WAX,*
TALLOW,	*WOOL,*
IRON,	*TOW-LINEN,*

FLAX-SEED,

And nearly all kinds of country produce, will be taken in exchange for goods.

7t79 SAMUEL HARGRAVE.

LEXINGTON, N. C. April 20th 1833.

THE EXAMINER.

THE subscribers to the paper proposed to be established in this city, under the title of "The Examiner," are respectively informed, that owing to the entire failure of the condition expressed in the seventh article of the prospectus, its publication has been abandoned

Philadelphia, Pa. April 11, 1833.

SALISBURY MALE

ACADEMY.

THIS institution will open under the superintendence of myself and brother on Wednesday, the first day of May next. Having had considerable experience, as a teacher, and intending to prosecute the business of tuition with unabated zeal, I respectfully solicit a share of the patronage of the country.

The year will be divided into two sessions of five months each. All accounts must be closed at the end of each session.

The following are the terms of tuition per session:

Reading, Writing and Arithmetic with the first rudiments of English Grammar, $6

English Grammar and Geography, $9

Languages and Sciences, $12

Students can enter at any time, but cannot withdraw except at the end of a session, unless prevented from attendance by sickness.

P. J. SPARROW, *Principal.*
T. W. SPARROW.

N. B. Boarding can be obtained in respectable families. I am authorized to state that Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Howard will each take as many as eight boarders. 6t77

Notice.

I HEREBY forewarn all persons from trading or harboring my wife DORCAS, for I am determined not to pay any debt that she may contract, for she has left my bed and board without any just cause. I am determined to put the law in force against any person who trades with or harbors her ELIJAH VOLUNTINE.

April 13th, 1833. 72tf

JOB PRINTING

EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS And DISPATCH,

AT THIS OFFICE.

[illegible] Lodge [illegible] N. C.

THE [illegible] will be celebrated [illegible] Lodge, on the 24th of [illegible] will be delivered [illegible] members of the Lodge are requested [illegible]

By order [illegible]

April [illegible], 1833.

ENTERTAINMENT.

WHITFIELD [illegible]

TAKES this method of informing his friends and the public that he has opened a house on [illegible] Statesville, North Carolina, [illegible] where he hopes to share [illegible] public patronage. [illegible] no exertions [illegible] his guests comfortable [illegible] are entirely new, large and commodious.

The Post-Office is kept at the house.

Statesville, N. C. April [illegible].

Dissolution of Copartnership.

THE Copartnership heretofore existing between Dr. John Scott and A. W. Brandon of the town of Wadesborough, under the firm of Brandon and Scott, was dissolved by mutual consent, on the 1st day of April. All persons indebted to said firm are required to make payment to A. W. Brandon at Wadesborough, who is authorised to settle the business of the concern. JOHN SCOTT, A. W. BRANDON.

3t74

April 12th, 1833.

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5 DOLLARS REWARD.

ON the 28th of January last, the subscriber put in the Post Office at Salisbury, N. C., a letter directed to Messrs. Waters & Howell, Merchants, Winnsborough, S. Carolina, containing a twenty dollar Bank note of the following description, "Bank of the State of South Carolina, No. 442, dated Charleston [illegible] December, 1830, payable to B. [illegible]don, C. J. Colcock, Prest., A. [illegible]ry, Cashr." The above letter not having gone to hand, it must have been mislaid, or the money purloined on the way. The public are cautioned from receiving the above note. [illegible] dollars will be paid for its recovery by R. MACNAMARA.

Rowan Co. 17 April, 1833.

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25 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, residence in Randolph County, N. C., on the 8th instant, Two negro men, viz:

JESSE & ELIJAH;

Jesse is about twenty two years old, weighs about 140 pounds, of low stature but well made, is of dark colour, and can read print well. Elijah is about eighteen years old, spare made, is rather inclined to be slender built and his lips project rather beyond the proper length. He had on when he left a half worn hat and thin homespun apparel.

They are intelligent smart fellows and will no doubt try to pass as free men, under the name of Wal[illegible] Evans, or Choolor; they are mixed with Indian.

The above reward will be given for the apprehension and confinement of said negroes in any jail so that I get them again, or, twelve dollars and fifty cents for either. 6t77

J. K. ARMISTEAD.

Moffitt's Mills P. O.
Randolph Co. N. C. Apl 8 1833.

FOUND.

ON Friday morning last, a GOLD Watch Chain, with two gold Seals; the owner can have the same by proving property and paying for this advertisement.

Apply to SAMUEL JONES, or at this Office.

Salisbury, April 19th.

PRINTING OFFICE

FOR SALE.

THE subscriber offers for sale the whole of his PRINTING MATERIALS now in Washington. They consist of upwards of [illegible] different founts of type from Brevier to [illegible] line Pica; an excellent press; flowers, rules, leads, cases, chases, &c. &c. with appurtenances complete for carrying on the business. They are all in good order, and some of the type is but little worn.

The paper at present issued from the office has as good a patronage as any ever published in this place. To a person of industrious habits, acquainted with the business, and desirous of locating in this section of country, a favorable opportunity is now offered. A wish to engage in other pursuits, elsewhere, alone induces the present proprietor to dispose of his establishment.

The whole, if speedily applied for, will be had a bargain. GEO. HOUSTON, Editor of the [illegible]

Washington, N. C. March 29th 1833.

POETRY.

THE ANGEL'S CALL.

Come to the land of peace!
[illegible]
[illegible]
The sounds of weeping cease!
Fear hath no dwelling there!
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

Come spirit, to thy God.

STANZAS.

There is an hour of peaceful rest,
To weary wanderers given;
There is a tear for souls distress'd,
A balm for every wounded breast—
'Tis found above in Heaven.

There is a soft, a downy bed,
'Tis fair as breath of even;
A couch for weary mortals spread,
[illegible] rest the aching head,
And [illegible]—in Heaven.

[illegible] up the tearful eye,
The heart with anguish riven;
And view the tempest passing by,
The evening shadows quickly fly,
And all's serene in Heaven.

There fragrant flowers eternal bloom,
And joys supreme are given:
The rays divine disperse the gloom,
Beyond the confines of the tomb
Appears the dawn of Heaven.

VARIETY.

CURIOUS EXPERIMENT ON A RATTLESNAKE.

The following curious facts respecting the rattlesnake, are from a letter of Judge Samuel Woodruff, to Professor Silliman, in the last number of the American Journal of Science:

During the summer months of 1801 I resided in the north-easternmost part of the State of Ohio. Rattle-snakes were then very numerous in that region. I found the opinion universally prevalent among the inhabitants there, that the leaves of the white ash were highly offensive to the rattlesnake. Several persons of respectability assured me that the rattlesnake was never found on land where the white ash grows, that it was the uniform practice among hunters, as well as others whose business led them to traverse the woods, in the summer months, to stuff their shoes, boots, and frequently their pockets also, with white ash leaves, as a preventive of the bite of the rattlesnake, and that they had never known or heard of any person being bitten who used this precaution.

Sometime in the month of August I went with Mr. T. Kirtland, and Dr. C. Dutton, then residing at Poland, to the Mahoning, for the purpose of shooting deer, at a place where they were in the habit of coming to the river; to feed on the moss attached to the stones in the shoal water. We took our station on an elevated part of the bank 15 or 20 yards from the edge of the water. About an hour after we commenced our watch, instead of deer, we discovered a large rattle-snake which, as it appeared had left his den in the rocks beneath us, and was slowly advancing across a smooth, narrow sand beach towards the water. Upon hearing our voices, or for some other cause, he stopped, and lay stretched out with his head near the water. It occurred to me that an opportunity now offered to try the virtues of the white ash leaves. Requesting the gentlemen to keep in my absence a watch over our object, I went immediately in search of the leaves, and on a piece of low ground 30 or 40 rods back from the river, I soon found and by the aid of my hunting knife, procured a small white ash sapling 8 or ten feet in length, and with a view to make the experiment more satisfactory, I cut another sapling of the sugar maple, and with these WANDS returned to the scene of action. In order to cut off a retreat to his den, I approached the snake in his rear. As soon as I came within eight or ten feet he quickly threw his body into a coil, elevated his head eight or ten inches, and brandishing his tongue, gave note of preparation for combat. I first presented him the white ash, placing the leaves upon his body. He instantly dropped his head to the ground, unfolded his coil, rolled over upon his back, writhed and twisted his whole body into every form but that of a coil, and appeared to be in great anguish. Se[illegible]

[illegible] the white ash. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] his head into a coil of [illegible] with all the malice of the "wonder [illegible]," [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] his whole length at an [illegible] effort with the quickness of an arrow. After repeating this several times, I again changed his fare, and [illegible] him the white ash. He [illegible] dropped his head, [illegible] upon his back and writhed [illegible] in the same manner as at the first application. It was then proposed to try what effect might be produced upon his temper and courage by a little flogging with the white ash. This was administered. But instead of arousing him to resentment, it served only to increase his troubles. As the flogging grew more severe, the snake frequently struck his head into the sand as far as he could thrust it, seeming desirous to bore his way into the earth and rid himself of his unwelcome visitors.'

Being now convinced that the experiment was a satisfactory one, and fairly conducted on both sides, we deemed it unnecessary to take his life after he had contributed so much to gratify our curiosity, and so we took our leave of the rattlesnake, with feelings as friendly at least as those which we commenced our acquaintance with him, and left him to run at leisure to his den.

Marriages in America.—The conditions of life being perfectly equal, parents have nothing to oppose to the choice their daughters may make of a husband. Thus it is a received maxim throughout the Union, that this choice only concerns the young ladies, and it is therefore for them to be prudent enough not to enter into engagements unworthy of their hands. But it would be considered almost as an act of indiscretion on the part of the parents to wish to influence their choice. Nothing in the world can be so happy as the situation of an American young lady, from fifteen to twenty-five, particularly if she is pretty, as almost all are, and has some fortune. She finds herself the centre of general admiration and homage; her life passes in holidays and pleasures; she is a stranger to contradiction, still more to refusals.—She has only to choose, among a hundred admirers, the one she thinks most likely to insure her future happiness; for every body marries, and every body is happy in marriage. This state of "belle," as it is called, is too attractive to make young ladies consent to quit it too soon; accordingly, it is not in general until rejecting many offers, and when they perceive that their charms are beginning to lose something of their empire, that they conclude by choosing a liege lord. It is at Washington in particular, that the fine women of all the States come to shine; a sort of female Congress, in which the charms of every part of the Union are represented. An ardent deputy from the South is captivated by the modest charms of a beauty from the east; while a damsel from Carolina rejects the overtures of a Senator from the North. All however, are not rejected, for at the end of every session, a certain number of marriages is declared; they serve to strengthen further the Union of the States, and multiply the ties which unite all parts of this great whole in an indissoluble manner.

Murat's U. States.

Young Ladies for sale.—In one of the Calcutta newspapers, the following advertisement appeared:—"Be it known that *six fair pretty young ladies*, with two sweet and engaging young children, lately *imported from Europe*, having the roses of health blooming on their cheeks, and joy sparkling in their eyes, possessing amiable manners, and highly accomplished, are to be *raffled* for next door to the British Gallery. Scheme, 12 tickets, at twelve rupees each. 'How shamefully they treat young ladies in Calcutta.'"

World of Fashion.

Persian story.—Sadi the Persian, tells a story of three sages, a Greek, an Indian, and a Persian, who, in the presence of a king of Persia, debated on this question: "of all the evils which is the greatest?" The Grecian said, "Old age oppressed with poverty;" the Indian answered, "Pain with impatience;" the Persian pronounced it to be, "Death without good works before it."

A good sized sheet of Paper.—At a dinner given on Monday evening last, by Mr. P. Dixon Hardy, to the workmen employed in his establishment, together with several individuals in the trade, who had exerted themselves on the occasion of the recent destruction of his printing office by fire; the table which was laid out in the composing room of the re-erec[illegible]

[illegible] single sheet of paper [illegible] in length [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] Paper.

ALMOST COTCH'D.

There is somewhat of a moral [illegible] in the following story, and we therefore give it nearly as it was related [illegible]. But few persons, we presume, are apt to grasp at the shadow at the [illegible] of the substance; bear in mind the good old [illegible], 'A bird in the hand [illegible] two in the bush.'

A [illegible] farmer 'down east,' had a son who was always planning something that would, in his opinion, increase the [illegible] of the farm, and therefore make him a 'bigger' man when his old dad's will and testament was made out. He was forever 'saving at the spiggot and letting out at the bunghole,' a failing which is rather common among us bipeds.

One day as the lowering heavens portended a coming storm, the old man said to his speculating son, 'Jake, take them are 'tarnal oxen down to water, and then go strait to the field and rake up the hay, for them clouds look sort of rainish.'

Jake, as in duty bound, took the oxen to the stream, over the limpid bosom of which stretched a rude log-bridge. The thirsty herd soon measured the distance between their noses and the water, and while they were luxuriating, Jake, from the bridge espied a fine, plump pickerel or pike, weighing according to his calculation, somewhere about nine or ten pounds. The fish seemed poised in its liquid element so steadily, that it appeared to be inanimate.

That's a whapper,' said Jack to himself—"now I guess as how that 'ere critter would make a breakfast for all hands to-morrow morning and save father lots of bacon and eggs. Golly! I wish'd I'd hook and bait, I'd show him a yankee trick. I'll bet the thing's asleep he lays there so quietly and nicely; one might almost pickle him alive.'

'Jake!' bellowed the old man from the house, 'Stack that 'are hay, the gust's a coming.'

'Father's calling mighty fierce,' continued the boy, still gazing on the fish—'he don't know what's what.

Now if I'd that pickerel, I guess he wouldn't think much of the hay. I reckon it weighs close to fourteen pounds.—It's a whapping critter, it must weigh twenty pounds.—Why, tarnation take the varment, he has'nt stirred yet!'

'Jake, go to work on that 'are hay!' reiterated the father.

'Father's calling and the rain beginning to fall—I guess the pickerel's worth more than the hay, it's a breakfast for a member of Congress; I wish I'd hook and bait! Dang it, I wish father'd stop making that noise; that fish would feed twenty men; and hay or no hay I'll have it.'

The rain now began to pour, and the old man continued the calls—but Jake, sure of his prey, poised his pitch fork steadily, all the while muttering, 'breakfast for all hands—bacon and eggs saved—hay lost.' The double pronged harpoon fled into the crystal element, the bubbles rose and the surface for a moment was dark & muddy.

'Ha! I've got the varment'—exclaimed the boy, stooping down to witness the dying agonies of his victim, 'we'll have a prime breakfast.'

But the fish was gone! The mist passing from the rippling waters, left nothing but the pitchfork sticking in the pebbly bottom.

'Tarnation take you!' exclaimed Jake, as he saw the pickerel darting down the stream, 'I'm not sorry you're gone, for *you're not worth the fat it would take to fry you.*

Balt. Visitor.

Fishing Cats.—Many instances have been recorded of cats catching fish. Mr Moody, of Jesmond, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had a cat in 1829, which had been in his possession for some years, that caught fish with great assiduity, and frequently brought them home alive! Besides minnows and eels, she occasionally carried home some pilchards, one of which six inches long, was found in her possession in August, 1827. She also contrived to teach a neighbor's cat to fish; and the two have been seen together watching by the Usis for fish. At other times, they have been seen at opposite sides of the river, not far from each other, on the look out for their prey.

The following still more extraordinary circumstances of a cat fishing in the sea appeared in the Plymouth Journal, June, 1828:

There is now at the battery on the Devil's Point, a cat, which is an expert catcher of the finny tribe, being in the constant habit of diving into the sea, and bringing up the fish alive in her mouth, and depositing them in the guard-room, for the use of the soldiers. She is now seven years old, and has long been a useful caterer. It

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] at its edge, looking out for her prey, ready to dive for them at a moment's notice.

"What [illegible] is there?" [illegible] an impudent [illegible] to a pupil who had not yet become versed in the mysteries of the [illegible], [illegible] pointing to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the weapon of [illegible] clothed [illegible] authority, should be [illegible] proper designation.

"Come, [illegible]" [illegible] "I believe," whispered the boy, in a [illegible] of terror, "I believe it's [illegible] only you can't [illegible]"

Lynn [illegible]

Hard Bargain.—A jolly devotee to Bacchus, was a few days since found by a friend in a recumbent position against a pile of boards, nearly dead drunk and vomiting profusely. "What is the matter?" was the enquiry. "'Tis a hard one," replied the man. "Hard? hard?" "Why, but half an hour ago I bought a pint of rum, down town, and d—n me, (hiccup) if I aint already sick of my bargain!"

N. B. Gaz.

Baker, in his Chronicles, speaks of Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, who was extremely rich, cried out upon his death-bed, in such speeches as these—Fye will not death be hired? Will money do nothing? Must I die, that have such great riches? If the whole realm of England would save my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it!

In the pure heart of a girl loving for the first time, love is far more ecstatic than in man, in as much as it is unsevered by desire—love then and there makes the only state of human existence which is at once capable of calmness and transport.

"I always sing to please myself," said a gentleman who was humming a tune in company. "Then you're not at all difficult to please," said a lady who sat next him.

Dissolution.

THE firm of Hackett & Lemly, is this day dissolved by mutual consent. All persons indebted to the firm, will please call and settle their accounts immediately with William H. Hackett.   60tf

April 5, 1833.

BENJAMIN FRALEY TAILOR,

HAVING removed to the house formerly occupied by Samuel Fraley, as a confectionary shop, a few doors above Mr. Slaughter's Tavern, where he is prepared to accommodate all those who may favor him with their patronage. He has just received from New-York and Philadelphia, the latest fashions, as imported from Paris, and London, and having a good number of first rate workmen, in his employ, he will do work on the shortest notice—cut and made in a superior style to any in this part of the country, and warranted to fit well. All kinds of cutting will be done on the shortest notice. All orders for work, from a distance, will be promptly attended to.

Being an Agent for the patent-right cutting for Saguze, or Wilson, of New York, and also for A Ward, of Philadelphia, he will instruct any Tailor, that may want instruction in cutting clothing.

He returns his sincere thanks to his friends and the public generally, for the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and hopes to merit it further, by a strict attention to business.

50tf   B. F.

CHARLESTON and CHERAW,

THE STEAM BOAT MACON

CAPT. J. C. GRAHAM having been engaged last summer, in running between Charleston and Cheraw calling at Geo. Town on her way up and down, will resume her Trips in the course of a few days and is intended to be continued in the trade the ensuing season.

Her exceeding light draft of Water drawing when loaded only about four and a half feet water will enable her to reach Cheraw at all times except, an uncommon low river, when her cargo will be lightened at the Expence of Boat.

J. B. CLOGH.

Charleston Sept 26, 1831.

N. B. She has comfortable accomodations for a few passengers.   92tf

J. B. C.

NEW BINDERY.

WITH a view to the more efficient prosecution of their business, the Subscribers have established a

BOOK-BINDERY.

Having procured the best Materials from the North, and employed a Workman who comes well recommended, they are prepared to execute on moderate terms, all orders in this line.

Account Books, Records, &c. ruled and made to order; and every kind of Binding promptly executed in the best and neatest manner, on reasonable terms.

36tf   J. GALES & SON.

Raleigh, Aug.

LIST OF LETTERS

REMAINING in the Post Office at Lincolnton, N. C. on the [illegible] day of April, 1833.

[illegible]

C. C. HENDERSON, P. M.

LIST OF LETTERS

REMAINING in the Post Office at Statesville N. C. April 1st 1833.

William Averett	Franklin Mon
Jo. Allison	Geo. A. Miller
Hy. Bonnie	Wm McFarland
R. H. Burton	Mary McConnel
A. M. Burton	John McPherson
Wm. Bass	Dr. H. E. McClelland
Alexr. Barr	Peggy McEwen
Alexander & Cowan 2	John McCall
Wm. A. Claywell	Alexr McGoachan
Jno. Compbell	James Orton
Tabitha Cameron	Jobert Philips
Wm. Deaton	Benj. Philips
Ezekiel Eades	Rev Wm. Richards
Matthew L. Fleming	Benj Buner
Nathan Fletcher	Burton Roby
Danl. Fink	John Stewart
James Gay	Thos. M. Saunders 2
Greenberry Gaither	Isaac Shinn
Hiram Gay	Wm. B. Stevenson
Margaret A. Hall	Daniel Speck
Margaret A. Hill	Wm. I. Summers
Elizabeth Heart	John Townsend
Sophia E. Hall	Perry Tomlinson
Jacob Hill	Jourden Vaughn
John Houpe	John White 2
Charles Jones	Silas Woodside
Elihu S. King	John Woodward
Josiah M. Moore	James S. Woods
Benjamin Moye	Jesse N. Whitlow
Col. Jno. Murdah	Reuben Yarbrough
Wilis B. Matthews	3[illegible]

W. KERR, P. M.

DR. J. M. MOORE,

VERY respectfully announces to the public, that he has located himself at Rehoboth Albea's, in Iredell County, twelve miles east of Statesville, where he may at all times be found, except when professionally engaged:

To all who may call on him for medical aid, no trouble will be spared to render ample satisfaction, and he hopes by due attention and unwearied application to business, to merit a portion of public patronage.   3[illegible]

March 30th, 1833

FOR SALE.

THE Subscriber has for sale a new four horse road waggon, complete which he will sell low—apply at his house, situated in the forks of the Yadkin, 9 miles north of Salisbury on the road leading to Mocksville

DANIEL LIPPARD,

April 12 1833.   1w

LITERARY NOTICE.

THE Hon. George E Badger will deliver the next Annual Address before the Literary Societies of the University of North-Carolina, on Wednesday the 26th June, the day preceding commencement.

DIALECTIC SOCIETY.

March 27th, 1833

DENTISTRY.

DR. WAKEFIELD

MAY be consulted at the Mansion Hotel. Those wishing operations on the Teeth, will please to give him an early call, as his stay will be short.   66tf

Salisbury, Feb. 20, 1833.

NOTICE.

THE Certificate for Four Shares of the Capital or Joint Stock of the Bank of Cape Fear, in the name of William Oakes, dec'd, late of Rowan County, N. C. having been mislaid; Notice is therefore hereby given to all persons concerned, that, I shall apply to the President of the said Bank, either in person, or by agent, to issue duplicates thereof.

WM. V. LONG *Admr*

Salisbury Feb. 25 1833.   13t77

Blank Deeds,

OF every description, neatly Printed, and kept constantly for sale at this office.

CHERAW.

THE Subscriber offers to the public, and will continue to keep on hand, a very large, and general assortment of

Groceries, Hard-Ware,
Cutlery, Crockery,
Saddlery, Iron,
Steel and Salt,

With a very Selection of

DRY GOODS;

on the lowest possible terms.

[illegible] in cash, will be [illegible] [illegible] prefer bearing cotton or other produce.—And the highest of the market prices will be paid in CASH or BARTER, to those who wish to sell   58tf

JOHN SCOTT.

Cheraw, Jan. 8, 1833.

New Tailor Shop

IN LEXINGTON N. C.

Mr Theophilus M. Simpson

MOST respectfully informs his friends, & the public at large, that he is now carrying on the Tailoring Business, in all its various branches in the town of Lexington, N. C. in the shop East of the Court House, formerly occupied by F. Fowler.

He regularly receives the latest New York and Philadelphia fashions, which will enable him to make any gentleman

A fashionable suit of Clothes,

on short notice, and in a superior style of workmanship. He hopes by assiduous attention to business to merit a share of public patronage.

April 12, 1833.   71tf

A List of Letters.

REMAINING in the P. O. at Lexington, N. C on the 1st April, 1833.

Cashat John	Miller Alexander
Craver Michael	Moffitt Robert
Davis Thomas 2	Pence Silas
Disher Chris. or Paul	Stockinger Christ.
Easter Peter	Smith James
Evans Joseph	Shook Michael
Foster Thomas	Sharp John
Grist Isaac	Sanders Benj
Grubb Henry	Twidwell Thos.
Graham Wilson	Temples Enos
Haden Wm. 2	Williams Daniel
Jones John	Ward Hiram
Mechane Wm. M.	Walk Joseph
Mallard Adam	Valentine Robt.

3t73   M. ROUNSAVILLE, P. M.

THE THOROUGH BRED HORSE

RIOT,

WILL stand the ensuing season at Beatties Ford, Lincoln County. He was gotten by the [illegible] ly Celebrated RACE HORSE and tree of old Sir Archie: His dam, a fine blooded mare—her pedigree can be traced to many of the most distinguished racers of the day. As to Sir Archie, his reputation, and that of his colts, and their descendants, are so well established, that it is scarcely necessary to say any thing at the present day, as they have been among the most successful distance horses, in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, for the last fifteen years.

RIOT,

Is a handsome bay, five feet three inches high—four years old next spring. It is thought that he will make a good breeder, as his form and blood are both good. Particulars made known in due time.   57tf

H. G. BURTON.
R. A. BURTON.

December 31st 1832

NOTICE TO DEBTORS

ALL persons indebted to the Estate of Robert Bradshaw, dec'd. are requested to come forward, and make settlement by May Court. Those who fail to comply with this notice, may expect to settle with an officer.   71tf

ROBERT N CRAIGE, }
ROBT. BRADSHAW. } Ex'rs.

NOTICE.

WHEREAS my wife Mary Ann, has left my bed and board, without any just cause or provocation. I forewarn all persons from trading with her on my account, as I do not intend to pay any debts that she may contract.   JESSE HADEN.

Rowan County, March 2[illegible], 1833

Department of State, }
March 20, 1833. }

A RESOLUTION of the Senate has called on the Secretary of State to obtain statistical information which is comprehended in certain circular addresses made some time since to the Governor's of the different States, and the county and township officers, by this Department. The queries contained in these circulars being answered in but a comparatively few instances, the persons to whom they have been addressed, are earnestly requested to forward their answers without delay.

The printers of the laws of the United States are requested to give this notice six insertions in their respective papers.